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LIBERAL PARTY

DECLARATION and PLATFORM

As adopted by the Convention at which the
Liberal Party of New York State was organized
MAY 19 - 20, 1944

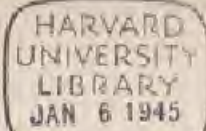
LIBERAL PARTY



DECLARATION and PLATFORM

Issued by
LIBERAL PARTY OF NEW YORK STATE
160 West 44th Street • New York 18, N. Y.

US 1383.10



The Party

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FOREWORD

Last May over 1,500 delegates representing various labor, farm, business and professional groups, organizations, and interests met in convention to organize the Liberal Party of New York State. These men and women, experienced in political activity, were fully conscious of the gravity of the responsibilities they were assuming. They were united in the conviction that the liberal and progressive forces in the State of New York, and ultimately in the nation, needed a new political party to give expression to their aspirations and to provide means for the realization of their purposes. They were impelled to this action by their recognition of the fact that America is entering a new age—an age fraught with unlimited possibilities for good and evil.

They had suffered two world wars in their generation—wars that had become total in character, that had removed the distinction between soldier and civilian, that had destroyed vast and irreplaceable material resources, and that had revived almost forgotten patterns of barbaric behavior.

They had lived through the most profound and prolonged economic depression in the history of their nation—a depression that had paralysed the productive energies of the economy, that had brought unemployment to millions, and anxiety to all, and that had placed in jeopardy their democratic institutions and ways of life.

They had watched the decay and the death, one after the other, of the democracies of the old world, and the rise of a modern form of despotism—the totalitarian state with its denial of civil liberties, its aggravation of class, religious, and racial differences, and its dogma of the master race and the general degradation of the human spirit.

They had become aware of the revolution in transportation and communication that has made of the whole world a neighborhood.

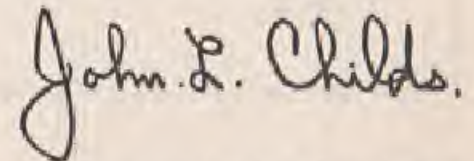
They had witnessed the transformation of the instruments and modes of warfare that has made of war a threat even to the very survival of civilization.

They had come to understand the changes in modes of production that had harnessed mechanical energies on a fabulous scale, that had achieved a production for war purposes of 180 billions a year, and that had made possible an economy of abundance for all, beyond the dreams of all earlier ages.

They were convinced that neither of the major political parties is equipped by composition or by ideas to serve adequately the forces of democracy in this new age. They were convinced equally that political movements of the left, bound as they are by economic and social dogmas, and speaking an idiom unfamiliar to America could not and should not gain the confidence and broad support of the people of the United States.

They resolved to develop through the Liberal Party a political movement characterized by integrity of purpose, experimental in outlook, and indigenous to the American soil.

In launching the Liberal Party they expressed their outlook and philosophy, their hopes and purposes, in the Declaration and Platform which follow.



Chairman of the Liberal Party

THE LIBERAL PARTY AND THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS

At its convention held on May 19 and 20, 1944, the Liberal Party of the State of New York nominated for re-election: Franklin D. Roosevelt for President; Henry A. Wallace for Vice-President; and Robert F. Wagner for U. S. Senator. With the nomination of Senator Harry S. Truman by the Democratic National Convention, the Liberal Party will substitute Senator Truman in place of its original candidate, Henry A. Wallace.

The Liberal Party has also nominated a full slate of local candidates for public office which will appear on the official ballot of the State of New York on November 7th. It will be active throughout the fall campaign to assure the election of the Roosevelt-Truman ticket and a liberal Congress.

DECLARATION

DECLARATION OF THE LIBERAL PARTY

I.

THE NEED FOR A NEW PARTY

We live in a fateful period. Democracy throughout the world is in a grim struggle for survival. That struggle will not end with the military defeat of the Fascist powers. Fascism is a modern system of tyranny developed by ruthless men, but these men gained power by exploiting deep disorders in our civilization. These disorders still exist, both within the internal affairs of nations, and within the patterns of their relations with one another. As long as they remain, the threat of Fascism will remain. The development of a new framework of relationships and institutions to overcome these disorders constitutes the supreme moral and political task of our period.

Of one thing we may be sure: home affairs and foreign affairs are today so inter-related that they cannot be treated successfully as separate things. Only as we re-order our domestic economy so that we can maintain a high level of production and employment, can America mobilize its full strength for the effort to organize a postwar world of security, of political freedom, of racial equality, and of economic and social progress. On the other hand, only as our nation is made secure against aggression—through the development of a stable world order—can we attain the desired domestic reconstruction. Coordinated, democratic initiative on both fronts is required if we are to win the peace.

We are convinced that neither of the major American political parties can lead in this full task of domestic and international reconstruction. The growing lack of faith in the integrity of

these parties—marked as they are by fundamental cleavages and inner conflicts—is a primary source of the uncertainty, pessimism, and even cynicism of the common man about the possibility of getting any lasting good from the suffering and sacrifices of this global war. The American people know that the new productive powers which science and technology have given us could provide better houses, better food and clothing, more adequate medical care, finer communities, and richer educational and cultural opportunities for all, but they have no confidence that the coalition of forces constituting each of these political parties can or will work whole-heartedly to achieve these humane ends.

Those elements in American life which are seeking to preserve feudal power and privilege in our industry and agriculture cannot be trusted to promote an economy of abundance. Those now struggling to maintain the white man's supremacy in our own country will not pioneer in efforts to get rid of the imperialism of the white man in world affairs. Those who are seeking to turn our country back to the economic royalists will not give the millions of our demobilized soldiers and war workers a square deal once the war is won. Those who regard political parties primarily as means to attain personal or narrow group advantage will not develop statesmanlike programs capable of resolving either domestic or foreign problems.

Entrenched in both major parties, these forces of privilege, of race-prejudice, and of patronage are daily becoming more aggressive and intolerant. They are attacking the rights of organized labor, economic justice to small farm-owners and share-croppers, equal treatment of races, and every proposal or agency for the democratic, planned use of our nation's natural and industrial resources.

The hold of these reactionary groups over the political affairs of our nation must be broken. This can be done if the democratic forces of city and country will unite and organize a determined political movement to overcome the disorders from

which we now suffer. Until this new political instrumentality is created the progressive forces of America will lack an organ of political expression and action adequate to meet the demands of our period.

The organization of the Liberal Party of the State of New York is a concrete step toward the development of such a political movement. We invite all liberal-minded citizens, regardless of occupation or previous party affiliation, to join with us to forge this new political instrument—a party which will give the leadership of the nation to those who really believe in government of, by, and for the people.

In view of all that is at stake in the approaching national election, our party will first concentrate on this campaign. We shall clarify and put into bold relief its real issues, seek to elect liberal aspirants to state office, and throw our full weight on the liberal side in the national election.

Our plans, however, extend far beyond this election. We are in the midst of one of the most decisive moments in the history of American democracy and the world. In these days of profound change our party will strive to play an increasingly effective role in shaping our common destiny.

2.

AMERICA AND THE WORLD

For the second time within a quarter of a century we are engaged in a world war. This in spite of our firm resolve never again to get involved in the conflicts of the Old World. The stubborn fact is that the technique and scope of war have been revolutionized by scientific developments. War is today literally a total, global thing. No matter where it begins, war now tends to spread its disturbance over the lives of everyone everywhere.

The American people now realize that the two oceans no

longer give us automatic national security. For better or worse we are inextricably involved in the highly interdependent world modern technology has created. When the war is over our country must develop a new foreign policy for we shall not return to the traditional practice of pacifist isolationism.

Although favored by some, neither nationalist expansion nor a power-alliance with other nations are policies which will give us the desired security. These alternatives are the roads to more wars, not peace. We demand therefore that every resource of our country be used to develop a genuine system of international security at the close of this war. We know that to accomplish this supreme aim grave difficulties must be overcome, but we also know that America is in a position of strategic power. We believe that bold initiative by our country could well prove to be the decisive factor in converting the war-time coalition of the United Nations into an agency for lasting world order. On the other hand, hesitation and confusion on our part might mean that this war will be followed by renewed rivalry for national power, mounting military expenditures, and, eventually, a third World War.

Our party will be controlled in these matters by a policy of democratic realism. We shall strive to have our government back democratic movements, including labor and liberal groups, in all occupied countries as these are progressively liberated from the Axis forces. We shall respect the rights of peoples in these territories to choose their own form of government. It is our responsibility, however, to see that these choices are genuine peoples' choices, not spurious selections dictated by reactionary and feudal remnants.

We recognize the crucial role the United Nations, and particularly the four leading partners—Britain, China, the Soviet Union, and the United States—must take in the organization of the postwar world. We shall strive to develop from the agency of the United Nations a lasting system of world order. We shall emphasize that a just international organization must provide

for economic and cultural cooperation, as well as for political and military cooperation. We shall oppose all unilateral and imperialistic tendencies either by our own country, or by any nation with which we are associated. We are convinced that the American people are ready to support the government in whatever steps are necessary to organize the world which will make it possible to supplant the ways of war with the ways of peace. As a party we shall seek to direct and organize this deep popular yearning for peace into effective forms of political action.

3.

PROBLEMS OF DOMESTIC READJUSTMENT

The frontier with its free land has gone from American life. Our earlier agrarian civilization, with its simplicities, its democratic safeguards, its self-sufficient farms, its independent rural neighborhoods, and its small business enterprises, has been superseded by a vast complex of industrial relationships and institutions which are literally national and international in scope. The livelihood of each of us is now dependent upon the continued functioning of this huge industrial system.

The last two decades have shown how insecure and precarious life for the common man has become in this new industrial America. Just as the close of the period in which we could rely on our favored geographical position calls for profound change in foreign policy, so the close of the pioneer and agrarian period calls for equally fundamental readjustments in domestic outlook and practice.

The plain fact is that many of the factors which now condition our livelihood can no longer be controlled by individuals, by families, by localities, or even by state and regional authorities. The task of developing new arrangements by which these complex means of production and distribution can be democratically controlled in the interest of all is now our most urgent

domestic problem. We believe that without the continuing co-operation of the Federal Government and the great functional groups—business, labor, agriculture, and the professions—this need cannot be satisfactorily met.

Since the turn of the century, a vast centralization in private control has been taking place in our economy. This centralization must give all friends of democracy grave concern. This vast concentration of control has been accompanied by a parallel concentration of income. In the year the depression began, one-tenth of one percent of the families at the top received practically as much as forty-two percent of the families at the bottom of the scale.

Significant as these facts about income distribution are, they do not disclose what the common people have suffered because of this unprecedented concentration of economic power. The much greater loss comes from the failure to produce that which could have been available in goods and services had our economy been controlled so as to maintain a high level of production and full employment.

The record of the war has demonstrated how great this loss has been. In the short space of three years, notwithstanding the fact that over ten million of our most productive workers were withdrawn for service in the armed forces of our country, we have increased the total productive facilities of our nation by nearly one-half, and have also doubled the total national income. This remarkable record calls for a revision of all former estimates of what is possible and desirable.

Our party is resolved to maintain during times of peace this level of production and employment achieved to wage war. Any other course will mean periodic economic paralysis, mass unemployment, lowered standards of living, undernourished children and youth, inadequate health services, reduced educational opportunities, the growth of slum conditions in city and country, the spread of a mood of fear, anxiety and despair, and the

embitterment of class, racial, religious and sectional relationships. Under such conditions our democratic institutions and practices could not survive and the way would be open in America for the rise of dictatorship. On the other hand, if we succeed in maintaining without serious interruption a high level of production and employment, the many and difficult problems of domestic and international adjustment can be solved.

Instead of a finished blueprint for a Utopian future, we offer a balanced program to meet current issues and to solve fundamental problems. This program is based not on a sterile, rigid attachment to dogma but on practical experience, warm sympathy with humanity, and a desire to see a better world.

But our experience as well as our observation of American life have put certain things beyond dispute. The open-market and free competition have been destroyed by mass production, business monopolies and cartels, and the growth of labor, farm and professional organizations. Unregulated private enterprise can no longer maintain stability and balance in our economy; neither can it conserve the natural and human resources of the nation. Today, real freedom for the individual requires more than the absence of external restraints; it requires the maintenance of positive economic and social arrangements. These can be equitably provided only through governmental action. This means that the earlier police power conception of the role of the state has been outmoded by the inexorable march of events. In order to maintain a high, sustained level of production and employment, deliberate planning and control must be introduced into our economy—through the agency of government.

It is a basic error to assume that public planning and private planning—public enterprise and private enterprise—are antagonistic or mutually exclusive. Our whole national history demonstrates that the development of public enterprise in appropriate spheres may be the friend, not the enemy, of productive private enterprise. Witness the building of canals, the government sup-

port of railroads, the provision of public services, the conservation of natural resources, the new housing projects, the various agricultural programs and the power projects of which the T.V.A. is one notable example.

Our party believes that once the war is over our country should undertake a drastic program of domestic reconstruction. This program should be guided by and committed to the attainment of the following purposes:

The unrestricted use of science and technology in the public interest.

The progressive release of the productive energies of the nation.

The achievement of full employment.

The guarantee to the worker of the rights and freedoms of his job.

The maintenance of the rights of workers to join free and independent trade unions, and to bargain collectively.

The reduction of the concentration of economic power in private hands.

The reduction of inequalities in income.

The encouragement of private enterprise by individuals and groups to take the initiative and risk involved in launching new productive activity.

The protection of legitimate private enterprise from monopolistic encroachment.

The promotion of conditions favorable to small business.

The abolition of poverty and depressed areas in both city and country.

The extension of health, educational and cultural services to all.

The conservation and rational use of natural resources.

The maintenance of civil and political liberties for all, regardless of race, color, or creed.

4.

DEMOCRACY AS END AND MEANS

As the foregoing goals indicate, our party will be committed to democracy as both *moral end* and *social means*. We reject the defeatism of those who assert that we cannot achieve these far-reaching reconstructions in American life by peaceful, educational, and democratic political and economic processes. We affirm in the light of the history of the last twenty-five years that these processes constitute the only trustworthy and tolerable road to the future.

In its organization, its controls, its policies and its practices our party will be wholeheartedly devoted to the principles of democracy. We invite all who share our faith to unite with us in achieving these democratic purposes.

PLATFORM

PLATFORM OF THE LIBERAL PARTY

1.

AMERICA IN THE WAR AND THE PEACE

I. Guiding Principles

Our first task is to win the war. Without victory over the Axis powers, our democratic way of life will be imperiled, and there will be no possibility of peace or progress anywhere. Our party therefore dedicates itself to a maximum effort towards defeating Germany, Japan and their satellite states.

But victory is not enough. We know that we cannot hope for unbroken prosperity and steady advance toward economic and social justice if the world is subject to periodic wars and threats of wars. Even the fear of a third World War will obstruct social progress, because it will be used by reactionaries to justify measures that reduce the benefits and rights which all men should enjoy. A primary concern of all liberal forces in the nation should therefore be the achievement of a lasting peace.

Only two roads will be open to the world after this war. One is the road of nationalist rivalry and of military and strategic security for each powerful nation, with the virtual absorption of the smaller and weaker states. This policy is bound to breed further wars which will undermine the foundations of democracy. The division of the world into spheres of influence among three great powers will unavoidably lead to rivalries and jealousies. Alliances will have the same effect. The resulting atmosphere of mutual distrust and suspicion would produce a new wave of militarism and armament competition. At the same time the smaller nations, forced to become satellites of

their big neighbors, would strive to regain their national independence, thus provoking acts of suppression. Obviously, should conditions such as these develop, it would be impossible to create a world in which democracy could grow in either the smaller or the larger nations.

The second road is the road of collective security and world organization. In our shrunken and technologically interdependent world, this alternative is the hope of the freedom, happiness and prosperity of mankind.

For these reasons we reject isolationism and imperialism for America. Isolationism would make it impossible for the United States to participate in a general international organization for peace. Moreover, isolationist abstention from such an organization would make it necessary for us to take unilateral measures for national security. Such unilateral measures would constitute an American imperialism which would disrupt all efforts at world organization.

The Four-Nation Agreement, signed at Moscow on October 30, 1943, promised "a general international organization . . . for the maintenance of international peace and security." This was a step in the right direction. Unfortunately, this promise has not been implemented. Meanwhile governments have been and are taking unilateral actions toward national security which are in conflict with collective actions for international security.

The British insistence that the Empire be maintained intact, and the Smuts proposal for the establishment of a British sphere of influence in Western Europe; the efforts of the Soviet Union to establish a sphere of influence in Eastern Europe, and its insistence upon a strategic frontier which it alone is to determine; proposals by certain eminent Americans for a vast expansion of naval and air power, including the retention and extension of strategic naval and air bases for use by the United States alone; and the support which has been given to undemocratic elements that have collaborated with Fascism are engen-

dering widespread fear in this country and abroad that these powers are thinking of the peace in terms of restoring or preserving the patterns of the past and not in terms of a new world in which alone there can be peace. The only way to put a stop to the present tendencies toward unilateral actions for national security will be for all the great powers to agree simultaneously to adopt collective actions for international security.

II. Specific Recommendations

1. We therefore call for the immediate creation of a United Nations Council. In addition to representatives of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, France and China, this Council should also include representatives chosen by the other members of the United Nations.

2. As soon as possible after the war we urge the creation of a permanent international organization with authority and power to maintain peace and carry out its decisions. We believe that only by creating such an international organization can the free peoples of the world preserve and realize in practice the promise of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms.

3. We believe that the purposes of the international organization should be (1) to prevent and check aggression, by whatever economic or military measures may be required, and (2) to eliminate the political, social and economic causes of war. We believe, moreover, that only to the extent that the international organization succeeds in eliminating the causes of war will its war-prevention instrumentalities prove finally effective. For if the conditions that breed war are allowed to remain, no purely negative measures against aggression will suffice. While recognizing, therefore, the necessity of adequate preventive measures, we emphasize the paramount value of curative measures.

4. We hold that in order to achieve these purposes and to endure, the general international organization must:

- (a) Provide the political framework for a continuing collaboration of the United Nations and, in due course, of neutral and enemy nations;
- (b) Make provision for the orderly and peaceful revision of the terms of the peace settlement;
- (c) Provide an agency to adjudicate disputes between states and build up a body of international case-law;
- (d) Organize an effective system of international policing to suppress aggression;
- (e) Assure equal protection of the rights of all nations and peoples;
- (f) Promote an International Bill of Rights comprising a code of liberties to be guaranteed to national, racial and religious minorities, as well as to every individual person;
- (g) Foster international economic cooperation with a view to achieving a stable world economy expanding at a steady rate, preventing cartels from restricting world production and leading to the gradual reduction of trade barriers;
- (h) Grant freedom to colonial peoples now ready for freedom and constitute an international trusteeship which will lead other colonies as quickly as possible to a point where they can be completely self-governing;
- (i) Provide the conditions in which progressive disarmament and the abandonment of compulsory military service would be possible for all nations;
- (j) Lead the way to the establishment of a democratic world federation.

5. Within the framework of the general international organization, we hold that regional cooperative bodies should be established, both for solving problems common to the members of the region and for adjusting differences between them; but all the nations with interests in the region should be represented in the

cooperative bodies, even if they are not geographically a part of it, and all decisions reached should be subject to the approval of the general international organization and in harmony with its principles.

6. Along with the general international organization, we believe that there should also be a number of functional agencies of world-wide scope. Such functional agencies should include:

- (a) The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, to minister to the immediate needs of the liberated peoples for food, clothing and shelter;
- (b) The International Labor Organization, to carry on not only its present functions of raising the working standards of the world, but to cooperate with all agencies whose work affects labor;
- (c) A United Nations Bank for Reconstruction and Development, to enable the devastated nations to rebuild and to develop the colonial and backward areas of the world;
- (d) A World Stabilization Fund, to help countries overcome temporary shortages of foreign currencies and to maintain a high degree of stability of exchange rates;
- (e) A Food and Agriculture Administration, to guide the development of agriculture and the distribution of food-stuffs throughout the world and to make chronic undernourishment and periodic famines things of the past;
- (f) An International Office of Education, to improve the quality of education throughout the world and to see that all children everywhere are guaranteed free education at public expense;
- (g) An international organization to deal with problems of health, sanitation and the prevention and treatment of disease; and other similar functional agencies.

7. We support the decision of the United Nations to punish war criminals of the Axis powers and to make it impossible for

these nations ever again to wage aggressive wars. But we hold that, in the interests of permanent peace, the peoples of the enemy countries should not be treated in the spirit of revenge but in such a way as to help them to become useful members of the community of peaceful nations. Nor should territory which has long been theirs, historically and ethnographically, be taken away from them to compensate the victor nations, for such territorial grabs are bound to encourage irredentism and lead to new wars.

8. Hitler's systematic offensive to wipe out all national minorities has been a part of the Nazi drive for world domination. This assault reached its most bestial form in the thoroughly planned and ruthlessly executed Nazi campaign to exterminate the entire Jewish people of Europe. In the interest of all mankind, the United Nations cannot allow the Nazis to attain this ghastly goal. Particularly the leading powers of the United Nations—America, Great Britain and the Soviet Union—must come to the rescue by taking immediate positive action. The restrictive White Paper should be revoked during this grave crisis, so the Jewish people can find a haven in Palestine. All territories into which the Jews can be received should be asked to open their doors to them. We urge our government to lose no time in setting up "free ports" for the refugees from the Hitler scourge. We call upon the State Department and other government agencies to save lives by speeding the issuance of visitor and immigration visas. We believe that all the civilized nations—neutral as well as belligerent—should give full support to the President's War Refugee Board.

9. We hold that the world cannot be organized for a just and lasting peace without the cooperation of the United States, and we believe that an overwhelming majority of the American people favor participation in world affairs. But experience has shown that a minority of thirty-three members of the Senate can and may block ratification of a treaty, and thus may prevent our country from meeting its international responsibilities and

carrying out the will of a majority of our people. We therefore urge that the constitution be amended to eliminate the provision requiring treaties to be ratified by a two-thirds majority of the Senate, and that pending such amendment understandings with other nations be made, wherever possible, in the form of executive agreements to be ratified by a simple majority of both houses.

2.

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY AND EQUALITY

I. Guiding Principles

American democracy is committed to the fulfillment, in its everyday practices, of the principles of social, political and economic equality for all members of the community regardless of color, creed, national origin or sex.

The emergence of well-organized political anti-Semitic and other Fascist movements together with the deepening pattern of inter-racial conflicts in our country must give alarm to all who are aware that these same divisive practices spearheaded reactionary movements in other lands. The relaxation of war-time controls and restraints may strengthen these divisive tendencies.

It is imperative that no time be lost in the establishment of immediate and specific programs for the eradication of the more subtle as well as the overt manifestations of prejudice and discrimination.

Only a political party which thoroughly believes in and is prepared to fight for the basic and elementary right of all people to work, live, study and play on the basis of their merit and need and without discrimination or segregation can cultivate in the American people those moral and spiritual impulses and attitudes upon which our commonwealth depends and without which we cannot keep our free institutions.

In order to make the American ideal a living reality our party calls for:

1. Equal access to all employment opportunities.
2. Equal access to decent homes and surroundings.
3. Equal medical and social welfare facilities for care and treatment.
4. Equal and unsegregated education and teaching opportunities.
5. Equality of treatment in the armed forces; the elimination of segregation and discrimination.
6. Equality of political participation.
7. Equality of civil rights.
8. Equality of treatment for all immigrant groups.

II. Concrete Proposals

To overcome the indefensible gap between the equality which the nation professes and the inequality it practices, we urge:

1. Enforcement of the Fair Employment Practices Act and passage of permanent legislation, both national and local, to prohibit discrimination by either private or public employers, or by workers' organizations in matters of employment, promotion and pay.
2. Prohibition of discrimination in all public or publicly-subsidized or tax-exempt housing.
3. Outlawing of restrictive, discriminatory covenants in leases or deeds which limit occupancy or ownership.
4. Establishment of training facilities and free access to appointments in public or publicly-subsidized hospitals, medical and social welfare institutions.
5. Equal access and unsegregated care and treatment in all public or publicly-subsidized hospitals, medical and social welfare institutions.

6. Creation of Federal and State commissions to investigate the denial to minority groups of free access to classroom work, vocational training, recreational facilities, guidance and counselling, new school buildings, as well as teaching and administrative appointments.
7. Establishment of scientific teaching of race, the history and contributions of minority groups, and special training of teachers for this purpose.
8. The immediate creation of volunteer mixed units in the armed services in order to demonstrate that members of different races can work together harmoniously, with a view toward ultimate elimination of segregation and discrimination.
9. Elimination of all barriers to membership in political parties, and to voting in both primaries and elections, including outlawing of the poll tax and all indirect discrimination such as gerry-mandering.
10. Passage of a Federal Anti-Lynching Law.
11. Establishment of fair practices with regard to juries, trials and court procedure to insure equality before the law.
12. Enactment and enforcement of civil rights law to eliminate Jim Crow practices in hotels, restaurants, transportation facilities, places of amusement and recreation.
13. Elimination of segregated blood banks.
14. Elimination of racial disqualification for citizenship.

3.

THE TRANSITION FROM WAR TO PEACE

I. Jobs for the Demobilized

When the war ends, the United States will confront a huge and difficult problem of demobilization and reemployment. All postwar problems—domestic and foreign—will be profoundly

influenced by the manner in which we make this transition from the war to the peace economy.

After the last war, our nation made little provision for the absorption of returned soldiers and discharged war workers into normal peacetime industry. Hence, many of them fell victim to reactionary forces which sought to channel their discontent into crusades against labor, and against men and women of other races, other colors, other religions, other national origins and other social convictions with whom they were madly competing for jobs that did not exist.

This tragic neglect of our social responsibility must not happen again. We must, as a nation, plan, with all the statesmanship at our command, for the day of demobilization.

We urge:

1. That a federal governmental authority, on which labor, agriculture, industry and education should be adequately represented, be immediately set up to cooperate with military and industrial forces in planning an orderly system of demobilization and in adjusting those demobilized to the civilian life of the nation.
2. That industrial enterprises be permitted to resume civilian production, whenever such resumption does not interfere with our war effort, in order to provide maximum employment opportunity for those released from the war industries.
3. That relocation allowances be paid to discharged war workers where their skills cannot be utilized in areas where they have worked during the war.
4. That unemployment compensation be paid to returned members of the armed forces and unemployed civilian workers until they have been located in other jobs. They should likewise be provided with needed medical and health services during this transition period.

5. That city, state and national governments, in order to provide productive employment for those unable to get work in private industry, prepare comprehensive public works programs:

For the clearing of the slums and the building of decent and modern dwellings for the lower paid income groups;

For the rebuilding of our cities;

For highway construction;

For the conservation of our resources, including soil conservation and reclamation, reforestation, fire and flood control;

For the development of our power resources and rural electrification;

For the construction of needed public buildings;

For the expansion of our educational, recreational and health services.

6. That the federal employment services be greatly expanded. Adequate staff for counselling individuals seeking employment should be provided.
7. That the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, with its more adequate provision for the aged, the unemployed, the sick and disabled, be immediately passed by Congress.
8. That the young men and women in the service of the nation whose education was interrupted by the war be encouraged to complete their education to the useful limit of their capacities, by the payment for their tuition and subsistence.
9. That adequate provision be made for disabled veterans.
10. That price, priority, rationing and other controls as may be necessary be continued to prevent inflation during the reconversion period when consumer demand will be in excess of the supply of many commodities.

II. Disposal of Government Stock Piles

Following the war, the government will have on hand vast stocks of surplus goods of great value to the civilian populations of the United States and of other countries.

At the end of World War I, no plan had been devised for the proper disposal of the war surpluses. Sales branches were hastily set up in each department of the government, resulting in confusion and waste. This confusion, this waste, must not occur again.

After the war, a canvass should be made of the needs of this country and other nations. Consideration should be given to the requirements of the various divisions of government, federal, state and local, of tax supported charitable institutions and non-profit cooperatives and of those in desperate need in other lands. The possible future needs of public works projects should be taken into account. In disposing of these surpluses to private industry, nothing should be done to augment the power of private monopoly. In no case should these commodities be destroyed when they can help to raise the level of living of the common man here or in other nations of the world.

III. Disposal of Government Owned Plants

The government will likewise have in its possession after the war a new vast national domain in the form of industrial plants and lands. Private industry is demanding the rapid disposal of these plants which are operating, in many instances, in monopolized and semi-monopolized industries.

The government should retain ownership of these plants (except where it is definitely not feasible), hiring them out to private or public agencies on condition that they be fully utilized, maintain adequate wage standards, observe enlightened labor practices, and produce socially necessary commodities at fair prices. In no case should the government dispose of these plants in such a way as to strengthen private monopoly.

Some of these plants should be converted to new and useful purposes or developed with a view of assisting in needed public works projects. Some might be well adapted for voluntary co-operative enterprise.

The sole aim in the leasing, sale, or public operation of our "new national domain" should be full use of our productive resources for the common good.

4.

AN ECONOMIC PROGRAM FOR POSTWAR AMERICA

I. Guiding Principles

American democracy must rest upon a solid and stable economic foundation. This means in our present industrial society full production, full employment and a high and steadily rising standard of living. America is entering a new era in which the right to work is an essential condition of our freedom. Our democracy cannot live under the strains, frustrations, coercions, deprivations and anxieties which unemployment and unused economic capacity place upon all classes. Through technological developments we have reached an age of plenty, with the possibility of continued rapid increases in our standard of living, provided we have the social vision to organize our productive forces, and provided further we give to the Federal Government adequate powers to maintain the full utilization of our resources.

No modern society can long endure deflation, unemployment, and depression. In meeting these economic problems we cannot depend upon laissez-faire. The depression of the thirties proved that private action cannot provide the economic coordination and expansion which is required. The American people must now take the economic steering wheel firmly in their own hands. We know that the economic system as a whole does not adjust itself automatically.

We believe that our economy should be organized in such a way that the level of employment and production will not depend upon haphazard, isolated decisions. It should be based upon over-all policies planned and directed by government toward the welfare of all the people.

If the American people assume responsibility for their economic system they can achieve levels of production which will provide a large measure of economic freedom and democracy in the years to come. It is possible to raise civilian production above pre-war levels by at least fifty percent. In terms of 1944 prices this would mean a national net personal income of approximately 150 billion dollars. It would also mean that we could continue to employ 55 to 60 million people after the war, including the returned soldiers and all civilians who want to continue working. Moreover by ironing out domestic economic instabilities we would be making a very great contribution to world organization for peace.

II. Recommendations for Policy and Program

1. The Federal Government must assume the ultimate responsibility of assuring the full employment of workers and the highest possible level of production.

2. The economic policies of the Federal Government should be directed toward a continuing program of national development and the prevention of depressions rather than only toward the salvaging of human and material resources during depressions. Public investments should promote this program of national welfare. They should include cultural as well as economic projects since we are not aiming at a mere "brick and mortar" society.

As we expand our public investments, public and private enterprise must be coordinated. We are not opposing private enterprise. On the contrary, we believe that it has a large role in the economy of the future. There is a large field in which public enterprise does not hamper, but rather helps, private

enterprise. Public enterprise should expand in those fields where (a) the activities, services or functions are socially desirable but do not fit the criteria of private business, (e.g., education, public health, recreation, police protection); (b) where the services are not satisfactorily provided by private enterprise or where government control is needed to protect the consumer, (e.g., highways, air ways, water resources, flood control, reforestation, prevention of soil erosion, land rehabilitation, slum clearance, low-cost housing, scientific research); (c) where because of temporary emergencies special government projects are needed to absorb the unemployed. We favor public ownership of utilities, of natural resources, and of monopolistic enterprises, wherever this is necessary to maintain production or to serve other desirable social ends.

3. The Federal Government's chief economic function should be to provide an adequate total volume and use of purchasing power or investment and consumer demand so that maximum employment and production can be maintained. Responsibility for maintaining this demand cannot rest on private individuals and corporations. Private individuals are naturally guided in their spending by the immediate and long-run needs of their families. Corporation officers must be concerned in their spending decisions with the interests of their shareholders. It is therefore only the government, acting in the interests of the economy as a whole, that can guide the total rate of spending so as to prevent both depression and inflation.

4. A permanent National Economic Council, responsible to the Congress and the President, should be established by the Federal Government to direct and plan the national development program and to maintain adequate purchasing power for full employment. Its membership should include representatives of labor, business, farmers and consumers appointed from panels submitted by these groups. Its functions should include:

- (a) Planning of the fiscal policies of the Federal Government relating to the maintenance of adequate purchasing

power and the administration of these fiscal policies in accordance with the economic needs of the country within the limits assigned to the Council by Congress.

- (b) Planning the projects of the program of national development, and proposing related legislation.
- (c) Coordination of domestic with international economic programs.
- (d) Establishment of public enterprises such as the Tennessee Valley Authority.
- (e) Prevention of monopolistic price fixing or restriction of output.
- (f) Prevention of the freezing of employment in American industries after the war through restrictions of output, monopolistic price control and international cartel agreements.
- (g) Recommendation of changes in the patent laws so that inventions may be developed and production made available for public use, and not held back for any restrictive purpose or used for exploitation.
- (h) Provision of adequate credit for farmers and small business men and maintenance of adequate demand for farm products through the government credit agencies.
- (i) Provision of fair conditions for small business, the source of so much socially useful private enterprise. These provisions should include marketing, research and information facilities usually available only to large corporations.

5. We recommend that every effort be made to enhance the economic status of women. We believe in economic equality between men and women and we hold that all women who desire to work should be provided with opportunity to work. Economic prosperity removes the economic excuses for all economic discrimination on the ground of sex, religion, nationality or race.

6. It is recommended further that the Federal and other governments (a) promote the use of progressive taxes such as the personal income and inheritance taxes, (b) reduce or abolish general indirect taxes as far as possible and especially oppose the use of the sales tax, (c) remove, as far as possible, all major tax loopholes, and (d) subordinate the tax system to the policy of maintaining full production and employment and preventing inflation. New attitudes toward taxation and the public debt are needed in the postwar economic era. The public debt, even at the high levels which will prevail after the war, need not be regarded as excessively burdensome. It must be remembered that the interest payments on internally held national debt, as well as the debt itself, are not lost to the nation but merely transferred from some citizens to others. Public investment should not be checked merely because it increases the public debt. The expansion of public debt is not dangerous if the fiscal policies of the nation are properly managed so as to maintain prosperity and prevent inflation.

5.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE PROMOTION OF THE GENERAL WELFARE

I. Labor's Right of Organization

The hard won right of working people to associate themselves in trade unions of their own choice, and to act collectively for the redress of economic grievances and the improvement of their status, must be maintained inviolate. The National Labor Relations Act, designed to enforce and implement this right by preventing the use of coercion and discrimination against workers who join trade unions, is the expression of a democratic principle which gives to working people the same freedom of association which other groups in our community have always enjoyed. Without that right there can be no sound approach to the solution of our economic and social problems.

We oppose any legislation which would impair or limit the right of workers to organize freely, or which would restrict the legitimate activities of trade unions. We believe that labor unions can contribute enormously to the general welfare in the solution of economic and industrial problems and in the reduction of industrial strife.

Organized labor has abundantly demonstrated its readiness and ability to cooperate for the common good wherever it has been given an opportunity to assume responsibility. As emphasized in other parts of this platform, the representation of labor on planning boards and other governmental economic and welfare agencies is indispensable for social progress and the preservation of our democracy.

We call for the early repeal of the Smith-Connally Act.

II. Agriculture

We believe that an American standard of living should be provided for all who live and work on our farms. In our national economy, industry and agriculture—city and farm—are interdependent. A depressed agriculture means shrinking markets, restriction of production of both factory and farm, growing unemployment, a lowered standard of living, and failure to do our part to maintain an expanding world economy. A prosperous agriculture must be a primary concern of postwar America.

Over two-thirds of our own people need a more adequate diet. Abroad there is desperate need for the food and fibre products of American farms. The maintenance of agricultural production to meet these needs is the only sound approach to a program for farmers. Only if we organize for national prosperity, full employment, and world economic cooperation can we achieve this result. We refuse to accept the doctrines and the practices of scarcity.

Specific Recommendations

1. Adequate support of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the early establishment of an International Food and Agriculture Administration;
2. Continuation of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration to guide and coordinate production of crops with the needs of domestic and foreign markets;
3. Maintenance of price guarantees for agricultural products at a level which will assure farmers a fair return and promote full production;
4. Support and expansion of the Farm Security Administration to lift tenant farmers to the status of owner-operators of family-sized farms and to assist farm families to acquire modern agricultural machinery and equipment;
5. Development of a program of rural public works, comprising the provision of decent farm homes, the conservation and improvement of agricultural lands, including soil conservation, irrigation, drainage, clearing and the extension of the crop area, and the conservation and improvement of forest lands;
6. Extension of the services of the Rural Electrification Administration;
7. A program to raise the diet level of the lower income groups, invalids, the sick, children and workers in factories, through the use of food-stamps, the distribution of free milk and hot meals in schools, the establishment of factory canteens, and the like;
8. A widespread program of nutrition education, to teach the American people how to choose foodstuffs wisely;
9. Provision of cooperative marketing facilities where necessary to eliminate waste and to protect farmers and consumers against exploitation;

10. Development of an adequate program of medical care for the rural population;
11. Expansion of the rural adult education work of the Co-operative Extension services of the Department of Agriculture.

III. Cooperatives

Because Consumer Cooperatives hold down the cost of living by setting yardsticks for fair prices and quality, increase purchasing power by widespread distribution of savings from their operations and extend democratic processes into the realm of business where, to a great extent, the major decisions affecting the lives of citizens are made, we urge every encouragement to the growth of the Consumer Cooperative movement.

We urge the extension of those Producer Cooperatives which equalize opportunity, improve the income level of underprivileged groups, improve production and marketing methods, and promote economies to the advantage of consumers.

IV. Social Security

Social Security is not a substitute for a sound economy but is an essential of it.

A sound economy will minimize resort to Social Security benefits but will not eliminate distress when ordinary income is interrupted by contingencies that are bound to occur. While striving thus to reduce the incidence of some of these contingencies, we must provide for them when they occur by means of a comprehensive system of Social Security. In alleviating want we also help maintain the level of purchasing power and thus assist in keeping our economy in balance.

A system of Social Security which we regard as indispensable should assure security from want to each individual not wilfully idle or improvident. We favor:

1. Increased unemployment benefits and the extension of unemployment insurance to agricultural workers, domestic workers, employees of non-profit organizations, all employees regardless of the number employed and to the self-employed;
2. Old age and survivors insurance for all and increased benefits;
3. Health insurance for all including disability payments, and adequate medical, surgical, nursing, dental and optical care, hospitalization and laboratory service, maternity and infant care;
4. Adequate assistance to persons involuntarily in want not otherwise covered;
5. Consideration of subsistence allowances for dependents.

We regard the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Social Security Bill as a substantial advance toward these ends. Therefore, we urge its immediate adoption and its gradual extension as experience is gained.

V. Housing

A decent home for everyone is a reasonable objective in present day American democracy. The fulfillment of that objective, it is estimated, requires the construction of fifteen to eighteen million homes.

"Private enterprise" alone cannot meet this need. Experience has shown that it is unable to provide at a profit good housing for the lower income groups at rentals they can afford.

The problem of bringing America's homes up to standard, therefore, must be accepted and executed as a public responsibility. The necessary outlay for this improvement of human living is well within our resources. Coordinated with the demands of postwar industrial reconversion and the backlog of

necessary public improvements, the fulfilling of America's housing needs will serve to promote and maintain full employment of the highest usefulness. Moreover, public housing will supplement, not supplant, the regular construction and rebuilding by "private enterprise."

The necessity of government leadership and initiative in this vital field is beyond controversy. We call for an extended program of coordinated and integrated federal-state-local cooperation. The program should include:

1. Federal and state grants, loans and guarantees to the full amounts that prudently can be put to use, with due regard for the over-all national objective of maintaining a high and stable economic level;
2. The establishment and enforcement of proper standards of construction and maintenance including non-discrimination because of race, creed or national origin;
3. Provision of technical guidance and advice to local agencies and private groups;
4. Stimulation and guidance of local initiative;
5. The enlistment of quasi-public resources (managerial and financial) concentrated in insurance companies, savings banks and like institutions.

VI. Civil Service

To improve the general level of public service, as well as to provide greater justice to civil service employees, we urge:

1. The wide extension of the competitive principle so that employment in the civil service — everywhere — shall be non-political and on the basis of fitness and merit, with opportunity for advancement by competitive and promotional examination.

2. Fair and adequate compensation with provision for an adjustable cost of living differential.
3. The recognition of the right of employees to associate themselves in trade unions or other associations of their own choice.
4. The maintenance of grievance machinery, including protection against arbitrary dismissals or other disciplinary measures by the right of proper hearing on charges, and the right to representation at and adequate review of the hearings and decisions.
5. The elimination of sinecures.
6. The observance of higher standards in the appointment of executives.

We believe that disqualification of civil service employees from political activity does not operate in the public interest.

6.

CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

I. Public Education

An authentic aim of American democracy is to give all of its children an equal start.

Hence we hold that, in addition to universal public education, it is the responsibility of the public, operating through government at federal, state and local levels, to supply any and all deficiencies whenever a family cannot provide its children with adequate care, food, clothing, health services, recreation and other cultural opportunities.

While we believe education to be a function of the state, the inequality among states of tax resources, as well as of popula-

tion in relation to such resources, makes it necessary for the federal government to cooperate with the states. Hence we advocate federal aid to the states for public education. Such federal funds should assure to all equal opportunity for educational and allied services, without discrimination on the ground of race, creed or color. They should assure a cultural minimum wage to the teachers so as to provide properly qualified teachers.

Within each state we advocate the widest possible expansion of facilities in nursery schools, kindergartens, health services, guidance, recreational facilities, adult education and an expansion of the system of college scholarships. Classes should be no larger than educationally advisable. Schools should be staffed adequately with properly qualified personnel. To attract proper personnel and keep them at their maximum efficiency, they must be appointed and promoted on the basis of merit and fitness, receive a cultural wage, be assured of tenure and proper pension protection.

The system that has grown up in the army and navy of college education for promising men should find its counterpart in peacetime. The government should provide college education for qualified youth of both sexes through federal payment of the cost of subsistence as well as tuition.

II. Civil Liberties

The program of our party is grounded in two fundamental convictions. We believe, first, that the general welfare now demands basic readjustments in our domestic and international relationships and institutions. We believe, second, that these readjustments can be made by peaceful educational, economic and political means. This peaceful transformation can be achieved only if the rights to associate, to investigate, to discuss, to listen, to criticize, to learn, to teach, and to publish are maintained unimpaired in the postwar period.

The extension of governmental functions need not abridge these rights guaranteed in the Constitution. During the past decade the exercise of these liberties has been actually strengthened even though peacetime functions of government have grown, and we have had to endure the severe strains of total war.

Another threat to these rights, however, has steadily grown. The concentration of control in industry and finance has been paralleled by a concentration of control over the major means of communication. Today five companies dominate the motion picture market and own the theatres that receive seventy percent of all that is paid at the movie box offices.

Four radio networks dominate the air of America. Moreover, most of the important listening time is limited to one hundred giant business corporations, because of the prohibitive cost. In addition, one-third of the radio stations are dominated by the newspapers. The number of daily papers is steadily contracting; within the last few years they have declined from 2300 to about 1700, and of those that remain, many are syndicated. This "boiler-plating" of the American mind constitutes a major peril to our democracy.

We are opposed to this cartel of the information-disseminating and opinion-making industry of our country. We consider it one of the most dangerous of all concentrations in private hands.

Our party will seek to unite all liberals to develop means by which a free competitive market in opinions and ideas can be restored and maintained. We consider these freedoms, and the independent mind which they make possible, the very foundation of our democracy.

If you wish more information or want to help the Liberal Party, communicate with or visit the nearest office.

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